NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.

A LETTER FROM GOVERNOR FOOTE.

JACKSON, (MISS.) JANUARY 12, 1853.

To Messes. GALES & SEATON: GENTLEMEN: In the Intelligencer of the 31st ultimo you published an editorial article in which you, in a very pointed and emphatic manner, call in question my power, as the Governor of the State of Mississippi, to supply by Executive appointment the vacancy which will arise in the Senatorial representation of said State on the 4th of March next, by the expiration of Senator BROOKE's term. You employ, in the article referred to, the following strong language:

"It is true that the term of one of the Senators from Mississippi will expire in March next, but it is equally true that the Legislature of that State was apprized at its last session of this prospective vacancy, and either refus-ed to elect a new Senator or failed in the effort to do so. Under these circumstances the Governor has no power over the appointment, as he can only fill a vacancy incidentally occurring. A case directly in point was settled twenty-seven years ago, by the Senate itself, when, dis-regarding several precedents, (being cases in which no objection had been raised.) it refused to recognise the commission, commencing with a regular term, which was granted to Mr. Langar by the Governor of Connecticut. This judgment, given against an Executive appointment which was perhaps entitled to greater weight from its having been made in pursuance of the statute law of Connecticut, has stood until the present day. We presume, therefore, that Mississippi will remain unrepresented in one of her Senatorial chairs until her Legislature shall cleet a person to fill it; and in this respect she will be in condition as North Carolina, whose Legislature has in like manner failed to choose a Senator to occupy one of her seats that will become vacant on the 4th March next.

Allow me to say, with great respect, that, after a deliberate examination of the whole subject, I have not been able to concur in the view expressed by you in the extract quoted, and I am not without hope that you, after a somewhat more careful scrutiny of the clause of the Constituand reason to doubt to some extent the eminion to which you have given announcement. It may be that the framers of the Constitution intended to limit the appointing power of the State Executives to cases of Senatorial vacancy " incidentally occurring :" and I am perfectly aware that this opinion was formally set forth in the report of Mr. Grandy, during the special session of 1827, in the case of Mr. Sevier, of Arkansas. But I have indeed been singularly unfortunate in the conclusion which I have felt constrained to adopt touching the grave and interesting question involved, if there be any thing, either in the phraseology of the Constitution or in the Senatorial precedents. to justify Mr. Grundy in the view incidentally held forth by him in a report which was evidently drawn up in a very hasty manner, and without that cautious examination of adjudged cases which would have been so desirable. Mr. Grundy, it will be seen, bases his opinion avowedly upon the celebrated Lanman case, and that case turns out to be really one affirmative of the position that after the 4 h of March-that is to say, after the happening of the vacancy—the Executive power of appointment does exist.

I feel confident that no one will deny that Senators thus appointed to fill vacancies arising at the end of a term of six years were uniformly allowed to take their seats without opposition from any quarter for more than the third of a century after the Federal Constitution went into operation; and if there be in fact nothing in the decision in the Lanman case, or in the decisions in subsequent cases, to militate against the plain language of the Constitution, I should hope that it may not be yet too late to rescue that sacred instrument from a misconstruction which would appear to have arisen chiefly through the influence of accidental causes, and from which, if not removed, much mischief may be expected hereafter to result.

You speak of the commission of Mr. Lanman as one "commencing with a regular term." You will find, on look. ing again into that case, that a flectsion adverse to Mr. Lanman was actually rendered upon the ground that the commission given him by the Governor of Connecticut did not commence with the regular term, that is to say, on the 4th of March, but was dated in the month of February preceding. The reason of such a decision is obvious: it is always at least possible that an election by the Legislatials, and a debate cusued thereon; but on motion that he be ture may take place before the vacancy shall in point of fact have occurred; and, whilst this is the state of things, as will prevent the vacancy from occurring during its recess, so as to make it necessary that the Executive

You will not fail to observe, gentlemen, that I have not contemplated the doing more in the case of the Senatorial vacancy which is about to occur than to appoint on or after the 4th of Murch, so as to steer clear entirely of the

sumption of yours may turn out in the end to be wellfounded. I confess that certain recent indications have rather tended to awaken some uneasiness in my own mind as to the ultimate result. But I shall ever regard the constitutional right to appoint as free from all reasonable doubt : and if the matter were now res integra, I cannot suppose that many intelligent men would be found who would be inclined to call in question all the earlier precedents, and adopt a construction most palpably at war with the plain language of the Constitution itself.

I hope, gentlemen, that, under the circumstances, you will not feel that I am asking too much at your hands in "Card," in which my views on this subject are somewhat more formally set forth than I have thought it necessary to present them in this hasty communication.

I have the honor to be, your friend and obedient ser-H. S. FOOTE.

FROM THE MISSISSIPPI " PLAG OF THE UNION."

A CARD. Since the fact has been made known through the publie prints of the country that I should consider it my duty to supply, by Executive appointment, the vacancy expected to arise in the Senatorial representation of the State of Mississippi in the Congress of the Union by the expiration of the term of Senator BROOKE, I discover that some doubt has been expressed in several quarters touching my power thus to proceed. I have no complaint whatever to make on account of the animadversion to which I have been subjected in connex on with this affair; nor am
I at all inclined to enter upon a discussion of the grave
question involved in this case in a merely controversial
spirit. It has never been my expectation, as a public
man, to enjoy the uniform and universal approval even of my most partial friends; still less have I supposed it pos-sible, by any exercise of discretion of which I might find sible, by any exercise of discretion of which I might find myself capable, altogether to avoid the condemnation of such as, from the operation of various causes, may be more or less predisposed to misjudge my motives and actions. In general, I have been content to make sure of the approbation of my own conscience, relying implicitly upon the good sense and sound virtue of the people for ultimate justice. It is Mr. Burke, I think, who has so finely said that "the very attempt towards pleasing every body discovere a temper always flushy, and often false and insincere;" and the short statement which is about to be submitted for the consideration of my follow citizens does not even aim the consideration of my fellow-citizens does not even nim to satisfy the minds of any save those who really prefer truth to error, and who derive more pleasure from the well, then they do from the infliction of merited censure, even upon those whose multiplied and aggravated offences

seems to be a common impression at present, that no power of appointment would exist in such a case as the one under consideration. Nor was it until I had thoroughly investigated the subject, in all its important bearings, that I was constrained to come to a different conclusion?

first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the forth year; and of the third that he expiration of the sixth year; so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if cacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fall such vacancies.

So far as the constitution is concerned, apart from all authority, the question in dispute would seem to me to be not at all difficult of solution. Plainer language could scarcely be imagined than the following:

"If vacancies happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies."

the Legislature of this State; it is equally plain that such appointment will be made after the vacancy shall have arisen, which is expected to occur by the expiration of Senator Brooke's term of office. Such Executive appointment, also, will be in its nature necessarily temporary. Indeed, it may be very forcibly argued, that, unless the vacancy which will happen on the fourth of March next by one canable of being supplied by Executive appointby one capable of being supplied by Executive appoint-ment, even the next Legislature will not be authorized to elect a Senator; the words "such vacancies," in the latter part of the clause of the constitution cited, having manifest reference to vacancies which may happen, by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature. If no such vacancy as will justify the exercise of the Executive appointing power will arise on the fourth day of March next, then is it most clear that no such vacancy will be found existing on the first day of the next meeting of the Legislature; since the constitution evidently does not recognise even the possibility that any interme-diate exigency will arise, the effect of which is to be the ereation of a vacancy upon some particular day between the said fourth day of March and the ensuing January, so as thus to open a new field for legislative interposition

So much for the constitution.

I next assume the position that no decision of this question adverse to the view herein stated has ever been rendered by the United States Senate. I do not pretend to be more thoroughly versed in the learning of Senatorial necedents than others; nor will I assert that those who so positively deny the existence of the power of appointent which I claim may not be able to cite cases which tion referred to, and of the decided cases, may at least I have not been so fortunate as to find; but I do most solemnly aver that I have looked carefully through the whole history of the Senate as a Legislative body, from the roundation of the Government up to the present date, without being able to meet with a single precedent, which, properly construed, is not of a nature to justify the exerise of the appointing power in the mode suggested. have several times seen it confidently declared that such precedents are to be found; and doubtless those who thus ssert believe the statement to be true; but I beg leave respectfully to intimate that mere asseveration in regard to so grave a matter, however degmatically put forth, is not exactly equivalent to solid proof—nor conjecture, how-ever plausibly presented, to substantial verity; and the good people of Mississippi will, if I know any thing at all of their attributes, demand something far stronger than mere flippant affirmation to satisfy them that they are, in their sovereign capacity, only entitled to a single Senatorial representative in Congress from the fourth of March next up to the beginning of another year, and even for several weeks thereafter. The fact is, that the notion now prevalent on this subject could never have obtained the least currency had it not been so uniformly the practice, of late years, of all our State Legislatures to anticipate the arising of such vacancies as that which will o next March, by the election of a new Senator in advance of the prospective vacancy. So seldom do vacancies now happen, by the mere expiration of a Senatorial term, without having been provided for beforehand by Legislative election, that our citizens seem almost to have forgotten that his duty may, by possibility, be sometimes

I take the ground, finally, that so far as Senatorial precedents are concerned, they are all of a character favorable to the exercise of the power of appointment insisted on. It would be quite easy to cite numerous cases strictly analogous to that with which the Executive of this State will have deal on the fourth day of March next, and to show that in each one of them the action of the Senate has been such as to affirm the right of appointment. I shall content myself on this occasion with bringing forward a few of these cases only, and I shall respectfully ask for them

in upprejudiced consideration.

In the year 1834 a work was published, under the sanction of the National Legislature, entitled "Cases of Contested Elections in Congress from the year 1789 to 1834, inclusive." I quote the precise words of the volume referred to, as follows:

1. William Cocke, of Tennessee, produced his credentials of appointment by the Governor, and on the 15th of May, 1797

permitted to take the oath required by the constitution, it passed in the affirmative: Yeas 13, nays 10. the oath was accord

3. William Hindman, of Maryland, appointed by the Governor, appeared on the 5th of March, 1801, and took his sent. 4. Joseph Anderson, of Tennessee, his term having expired, as reappointed by the Governor, and took his seat on the 4th 5. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, appointed in the same man-

ner, took his seat on the same day.

I will not further multiply cases, either now or hereafter, as it would be easy to do, unless some adverse deciafter the 4th of Murch, so as to steer clear entirely of the difficulty which arose in the case of Lanman, upon which you seem so strongly to rely.

You say that you "presume that Mississippi will remain unrepresented in one of her Senatorial chairs until her Legislature shall elect a person to fill it." This predict the strong of the s cases. The report of the Senatorial committee in the case

of Mr. Lanman recites:

"That Mr. Lanman's term of service in the Senate expired on the third of March: on the fourth he presented to the Senate a certificate, regularly and properly authenticated, from Oliver Wolcott, Governor of the State of Connecticut, setting forth that the President of the United States had desired the

orth that the President of the United States had desired the senate to convene on the 4th day of March, and had caused efficial notice of that fact to be communicated to him.

"The certificate of appointment is dated the 8th of February, 1825, subsequent to the time of notification to him by the President. The certificate further recites that at the time of its execution the Legislature of the State was not in session, and would not be until the month of May."

The debate in Mr. Lanman's case shows that the queswill not feel that I am asking too much at your hands in requesting the insertion in your columns of the subjoined mainly turned upon the fact that his commission as Senator bore date in the month of February, and had thus ema-nated previously to the actual happening of the vacancy, which really occurred in the month of March subsequent. Upon this ground alone it was decided that Mr. Lanman was not entitled to the seat claimed by him, by a vote of 24 to 18. The caption of Mr. Lanman's case, as reported in the vo-lume of "Contested Elections," is as follows:

"It is not competent for the Executive of a State, in the re-

cess of a Legislature, to appoint a Senator to fill a vacancy which shall happen, but has not happened. Nors.—Such ap-pears to be the ground of decision in this case, but neither the report, nor the action of the Senate on it, discloses fully the

Such is the state of the authorities upon the point unler examination : from a decent respect for which authorities, and a proper regard for my official oath, I have deemed it my duty to see that an appointment of a new Senator shall be made on the 4th day of March next, to supply the vacancy which will then arise, and which has unfortunately not been provided for by the customary le-

Such are the reasons which have influenced my conduct in this delicate and important affair, and I cheerfully sub-mit them now to my fellow-citizens, to receive either their approbation or their condemnation. H. S. FOOTE. JACKSON, DECRMBER 29, 1852.

THE GARDINER MINES.

The Baltimore "Sun" of Saturday has the following paragraphs, contradicting some stories which have been set affoat since the return from Mexico of the Commission sent thither to obtain evidence re-

lative to the Gardiner silver mine: Several statements have reached us, from various sources, some of which have appeared in the Sun, pur-porting to give the result of the exploration by the Gardiner commission in quest of the celebrated silver mine. Yesterday we had an interview with Mr. HENRY MAY,

seem most loudly to call for this species of punishment.

I am of opinion that, as the Governor of the State of Mississippi, it will be proper for me to appoint a United States Senator upon the 4th day of March next, for reasons which I will presently proceed to avow. Before I do so, though, I feel bound frankly to admit, that, until within a few mouths past, I continued to entertain what fore the country, as an individual awaiting a legal inves-

tigation before a proper tribunal.

A paragraph from the Alexandria Age, to the effect that the party was fired upon by robbers, and that the fire was that I was constrained to come to a different conclusion."

The clause of the constitution of the United States which regulates both the election and appointment of Senators is known as section III, article 1, of that instrument, and reads as follows:

"The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. Immediately after they shall be assembled, in consequence of the story, notwithstanding, for romance is precious in this matter of fact age; but Mr. May will have it so.

ADDRESS OF HON. EDWARD EVERETT.

OF MASSACHUSETTS, Delivered at the late Anniversary Meeting, held in this city, of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. PRESIDENT : When you invited me some time ago Mr. President: When you invited me some time ago to take part in the discussions of this evening, it was my purpose, if able to attend the meeting at all, to examine the great questions connected with the Colonization Society in all their bearings; for I have long been of opinion that, whether we consider the state of things in America or Africa, no more momentous subject can engage our attention. But, sir, my time and thoughts, during almost the whole interval, have been preoccupied in a manner which has prevented my making any but the hastiest and most inadequate preparation to address this audience, on whose kind indulgence, therefore, without further apology, I beg to throw myself.

The Colonization Society has been the subject, as it An appointment of Schator made on the next fourth of March, it is obvious, will be made during the recess of which has prevented my making any but the hastiest and

The Colonization Society has been the subject, as it seems to me, of much unmerited odium; of indifference equally unmerited, on the part of the majority of the community; of the deep interest which it deserves on the part of a very few. Its operations are yet in their infancy; they are confined to the proceedings of an association of private individuals, pursuing the noiseless tenor of their way, without ostentation or delat at home; and to the humble fortunes of the small State-the germ of a republicwhich, under the auspices of this association, has been planted on the coast of Africa. But before we deride these humble beginnings-before we think it extravagant to believe that all-important futurities may be wrapped up in them, (as the mighty oak is wrapped up in the acorn,) we should do well to refresh our recollection of the first twenty-five years of the settlement at Jamestown. or call to mind that first dismal winter at Plymouth, where more than half the Mayflower's company sunk under the rigors of the climate, and the infinite sufferings of their forlorn adventure. Sir, neither Plymouth nor Virginia, at the end of twenty-five years, had attained anything like such a position as is already occupied by Libelia in the family of nations, recognised as she has been by the most

powerful Governments of Europe, and sustaining all the relations of an independent State.

1. The settlement of Liberia, on the coast of Africa, under the auspices of the Colonization Society, was founded on a political and moral necessity. As the measures adopted for the suppression of the African slave trade led to the capture of slave ships, it was n cessary that provision should be made for restoring the captured Africans to their native country. To return each to the village where he was born was impossible. Collected as they are from every portion of the interior, and often brought down to the coast from vast distances, all thought of restoring them, at least immediately to their several homes was out of the question. To place them down at any of the usual resorts on the coast of Africa, would be to throw them back at once into the power of the native chiefs, who are the chief agents for carrying on the foreign trade. A settlement on some point of the coast, protected by the influence and the name of a powerful civilized State, seemed, therefore, an indispensable condition of all measures for repressing the freign slave-trade, on account of the necessity of furnishing an immediate asylum to the victims that might be received from its grasp, where they might be received, and shiltered, and civilized. and gradually perhaps find their war into the interior to their native tribes.

Allied to this object of the colory was one still more important, because applicable to a much larger number of persons; and that was to afford a home in Africa to ch free men of color in this county as were desirous of emigrating to the native land of their fathers. This ob ect at first approved itself almost unanimously, at the South and at the North, to the white and the colored race. Jealousies by degrees crept in—prejudices (so I must think them) arose—till at length the Coonization Society and its colony have become intensely unpopular with a consi-derable part of those whose interest was one of the leading objects of the formation of the Society; I mean our

free colored population.

Now, sir, I do not intend to discuss the ground of these jealousies, nor to inquire into the policy of the laws of some States, and the condition of public opinion, often more powerful than law, in others, which make the condition of the free colored man in all parts of the country one of inferiority and hardship. In order to meet the objections to the Society, that it recognises and co-operfurnish any valid practical argument against colonization.

Does the fact that the free colored man is unjustly treat ed in this country—that he is oppressively excluded from all the eligible careers of life in the United States—furnish tile, and one which, it is every day becoming more pro-bable, is rich in deposites of gold?

For myself, I must own that this state of legislation and

public opinion seem to me strong considerations in favor of emigration. I cannot reconcile with real kindness toward our free colored population the attempts which have been made, and with considerable success, to prevent their emigrating from this country, where their position is one of hardship and disability, to a country which pro-

mises them every imaginable advantage.

What sort of a kindness would it have been toward the persecuted Puritans who in 1608 composed the little flock which afterwards became the pilgrim church at Leyden, to endeavor to persuade them at all hazards not to leave England? Or what motive of real, enlightened kindness could have prompted a similar attempt in reference to Governor Winthrop's much larger and more important company in 1630? Would it have been the part of real friendship to go among them and tell them they were the victims of cruel laws and still more cruel prejudices: to victims of cruel laws and still more cruel prejudices; to bid them remember that they were born in England—that they had as good a right to live there as their oppressors to exhort them to stand upon their rights, and if need be to bleed for them; to depict the western continent and their probable fortunes in it in the darkest colors? But this is the precise counterpart of the language continually addressed to the free colored population of the United States by those who claim to be their peculiar friends.

Or to take a case if possible more nearly parallel, that of the suffering Irish, Scotch, French, Swiss, Germans, Norwegians, and others, who to the number of hundred of thousands annually are emigrating to the United States. Would it be deemed an act of friendship, or rather refined cruelty, or at least of most mistaken kindness, to go among the suffering population of these several countries whose thoughts are turned toward America as a land o refuge and plenty, and endeavor to dissuade them from removal; kindling in their minds a morbid patriotism, a bitter nationality; urging them to stay and starve, rathe than find employment, position, and prosperity for them-selves and children on this side of the Atlantic?

2. But I must pass to another very important object of the Colonization Society in establishing the colony of Liberia, and that is, the effectual suppression of the slave-trade throughout its extent and within the sphere of its influence. It is grievous to reflect that, contemporaneous ly with the discovery of our own continent, and from mo ives of kindness to its natives, the whole western conof Africa was thrown open to that desolating traffic which from time immemorial had been carried on from the ports of the Mediterranean, by the Nile, and along the eastern coasts. It is still more painful to consider that the very tion, but between tribe and tribe, village and village, and almost between house and house; in fact, it is not without example for these benighted beings to deliver their wives and children to the slave-dealers.

Thus the western coast of Africa became, like the north

eastern and eastern coasts, one great slave market, and so remained for nearly three centuries. It is now about seventy years since the powers of Christendom, excited to activity by philanthropic associations and benevolent individuals, in Europe and in America, began their warfare dividuals, in Europe and in America, began their warfare upon this cruel traffic. The American colonies, before their independence, passed laws for its abolition, which were uniformly negatived by the Crown. The revolutionary Congress, in the first year of its existence, denounced the traffic, and the Constitution of the United States appointed a date for its prospective abolition. This example has been successively followed by other States. The trade is now forbidden by the laws of every Christian and several of the Mahomedan Powers of Europe and Asia. It still exists, however, to a frightful extent; and the more active the means used to suppress it, by blockades and

percunial fountains of Christian benevolence. I repeat, sir, wherever these settlements have been founded the slavewherever these settlements have been founded the slave-trade has disappeared, and as we may trust forever. It seems to me that, if no other benefit were anticipated from their extension, this alone would constitute an all-powerful motive. What object in life, in this country, or in any country, can an individual of African descent pro-pose to himseif at all to be compared with that of forming in his own person a part of that noble line of defence by which the shores of his native land are to be forever harwhich the shores of his native land are to be forever barred against the desolating traffic? 3. But, great as is the importance of this object, it yields

3. But, great as is the importance of this object, it yields in interest to another connected with it, but far more comprehensive and momentous; and that is, the civilization of Africa. The condition of the African continent is a reproach to the civilization of the world. With an extent nearly three times that of Europe—a considerable portion of the known regions of great fertility, teeming with vegetable and animal life, traversed by lofty ranges of mountains which send down from their sides the tributaries of noble rivers, connected by the Mediterranean on the north, both with the ancient and modern culture of Europe—the western shores projecting into the Atlantic the north, both with the ancient and modern cutture of the north, both with the ancient and modern cutture of the north, both with the ancient and modern cutture of the north, both with the ancient and modern cutture of the north, both with the ancient and modern cutture of the face of facts like these, it becomes us to be somewhat cautious in setting down the colored cocean, the great highway of civilization—the southeastern us to be somewhat cautious in setting down the colored race in America as one of hopeless inferiority. and the whole Oriental world, while the Red sea and the Nile throw open the approaches of the Asiatic continent, it would seem that by natural endowments and geographi cal position it was destined to be the emporium and gar-den of the earth. Man only throughout these vast regious has remained in arrears in the great progress of humanity; and instead of keeping pace with his fellow-men in other parts of the world—has been so much depressed by various causes of degeneracy as finally to have come under a suspicion of natural inferiority—in which

I have no doubt that among the numerous races of Africa, as of the other continents, there are great diversities of intelligence; from the warlike, politic tribes of the Central plateau, to the broken-down, enfeebled hordes on the banks of the Congo, and the squalid, scarcely hu-man Hottentot. But it may be doubted whether this difference is greater than between the Laplander, the Gipsy, the Calmuc, on the one hand, and the best and ightest specimens of humanity to be found in Europe

What, then, is the cause of the continued uncivilization of Africa? And, without pretending to pry too curiously into the mysteries of Providence, it appears to me that a sufficient cause may be found in some peculiar circumstances in the history and magnetic the continued of t stances in the history and geography of this continent It seems a law of human progress, which, however difficult to explain, is too well sustained by facts to be doubted, that the first advances out of barbarism must be made under the influence of culture from abroad. Thus the germs of improvement were brought from Eygpt and Syria to Greece; from Greece to Rome; from Rome to the west and north of Europe; from Europe to America, as they are now on their way from our continent to the remotest islands of the Pacific. To what extent the aboriginal element shall be borne down and overpowered by the foreign influences, or enter into kindly combination with them, depends upon the moral and intellectual deates with these oppressive laws and a still more oppressive public opinion, I will admit such to be the character of the legislation and the public sentiment of the country, in reference to the free colored population. But does this no kindly union between them is practicable, and the native tribes slowly and silently retreat before the new-comers. This has been the case with the native races of comers. This has been the case with the native races of our own continent, who have found it all but impossible at whose daily table hunger and thirst are the stewards: to embrace our civilization.

tors and guides of the native races, were all deeply con-cerned in a traffic with the continent of Africa, which, instead of tending, like other branches of commerce, to mutual improvement, and especially to the elevation of the inferior party, is of all barbarizing agents the most poisonous and deadly. In this way foreign trade, which has usually been the medium through which the more cultivated foreign race has gradually introduced itself to a mutually beneficial intercourse with the less advanced tribes, has been to Africa, from the dawn of history to the present day, the all-powerful agent of eternal civil war, anarchy, and social disorganization. This has been one cause of her making so little progress in civilization. Another is her climate; her mighty equatorial expanse— a more extensive tract of land between the tropics than in all the rest of the globe; her fervid vertical sun, burning down upon the rank vegetation of her fertile plains, and rendering her shores and water-courses pestiferous to a foreign constitution. This peculiar geographical character seems again to shut her out from the ordinary approaches of civilization. Common inducements of con mercial gain are too weak to tempt the foreign merchant to these feverous districts. Nothing but a taste for adventure approaching to mania attracts the traveller; and when Christian benevolence lures the devoted missionary to this field of labor, it lures him too often to his doom. Here, then, we see a union of influences which seem to seal the fate of unhappy Africa as an abomination of desc-

But now mark and reverence the providence of God. educing out of these untural disadvantages of climate, educing out of these natural disadvantages of climate, (disadvantages to man's apprehension,) and this colossal moral wrong—the African slave-trade—out of these seemingly hopeless elements of physical and moral evil—after long cycles of suffering and crime, of violence and retribution, such as history can nowhere parallel—educing, I say, from these elements, by the blessed alchemy of christian charity, the means of the ultimate regeneration of Africa. of Africa.

The aroused conscience of Christendom denounces the slave trade, but not till it has existed for three centu-ries, and filled a portion of the western hemisphere with five or six millions of the descendants of Africa, of whom about a million and a half, in the islands and on the conabout a million and a half, in the islands and on the con-tinent, have from time to time become free; though born and reared under circumstances unfavorable to mental culture, yet still partaking in the main of the common blessings of civilization and christianity, and amply quali-fied, as Liberia has shown, to convey those blessings to the native land of their fathers. Thus, at the moment coasts. It is still more painful to consider that the very period at which the modern culture of the west of Europe was making the most rapid progress, is that at which Africa began to suffer the most from its connexion with Europe. It was the age of Shakspeare, of Spenser, of Hooker, and Lord Bacon, and of those other brightest suns in the firmament of England's glory, that her navigators first engaged in this detestable traffic; and vessels bearing as if in derision the venerable names of "Jesns" and "Solomen" were sent from Great Britain for slaves to the coast of Africa. At a time when some of the last remnants of the feudal system were broken down in England and France; when private war had wholly ceased; when men began to venture from the covert of the walled towns and traverse the high-roads, and live in the open country in safety, these very States, the most civilized in Europe, which was carried on by exciting the native races of Africa to new fory against each other, and by introducing a state of misers and along the rest of the considerable traffic at the confluence of the Niger and Tschad, interior of Africa, ascended the Niger, every white man out of one hundred and fifty state of misersal war, had not mere that the confluence of the Niger and Tschad, interior of Africa, ascended the Niger, every white man out of one hundred and fifty state of misersal war, had not mere the sum of the period of their fathers. Thus, at the moment when the work itself is ready to be commenced, the chosen instruments are prepared. Do I err in the opinion that the when the work itself is ready to be commenced, the chosen instruments are prepared. Do I err in the opinion that the same Providence which has arranged or permitted this the the same Providence which has arranged or permitted this the the tast remember and providence which has arranged or permitted this the native land of the native land of the tast providence which has arranged or permitted this mistrate of sum of the native land of the native land of the na ca to new fury against each other, and by introducing a sickened; all but two or three, if my memory serves me, state of universal war, not merely between nation and nation, but between tribe and tribe, village and village, and hundred and fifty in number, with all the added labor and anxiety that devolved upon them, a few only were sick, and they individuals who had passed years in a temperate

climate, and not one died. climate, and not one died.

I say again, sir, you Caucasian; you proud Anglo-Saxon; you self-sufficient, all-attempting white man, you cannot civilize Africa. You have subdued and appropriated Europe; the native races are melting before you in ated Europe; the native races are meiting before you in America, as the untimely snows of April beneath a vernal sun; you have possessed yourself of India; you menace China and Japan; the remotest isles of the Pacific are not distant enough to escape your grasp, nor insignificant enough to elude your notice; but Central Africa confronts you and bids you defiance. Your squadrons may range along or blockade her coast; but neither on the

the intellectual inferiority of the African race as existing in the United States. He might have been led to doubt the justice of his conclusions, by reflecting that, in the very same work, he thinks it necessary to vindicate the race to which we ourselves belong from a charge of degeneracy made by an ingenious French writer, (the Abbét Baynal.) Why, sir, it is but a short time since we Anglo-Americans were habitually spoken of by our brethren in Eugland as a degenerate and inferior race. Within thirty years it has been contemptuously asked in the liberal journals of England, in reference to the native country of Franklin and Washington, and Adams and Marshall, and Jefferson and Madison, of Irving, Prescott, Bancroft, Ticknor, Bryant, and Longfellow, "who reads an American book?" In the face of facts like these, it becomes us to be somewhat cautious in setting down the colored

Again, sir, it is doubted whether there is in the native races of Africa a basis of improveability, if I may use that word, on which a hope of their future civilization can be grounded. It is said that they alone, of all the tribes of the earth, have shown themselves incapable of improving their condition.

Well, sir, who knows that? Of the early history of our race we know but little in any part of the globe. A dark cloud hangs over it. The whole north and west of Europe, until the Roman civilization shone in upon it, was as benighted as Africa is now. It is quite certain that at a very early period of the history of the world some of the native races of Africa had attained a high call the negro type. They are considered the parents of much of the civilization of the Greeks, and indeed of the whole ancient world. As late as the fifth century before the Christian era, Plato passed thirteen years in study-ing their sacred records. The massive monuments of their cheerless culture have withstood 'the storms of time bet-ter than the more graceful creations of Grecian art. And yet if we were to judge of the capacity of the Egyptian race for improvement from the present condition of the native population of the valley of the Nile, we should have no reason to place them above the inhabitants of the valley of the Niger. Races that emerged from barbarism later than those of Africa have, with fearful violssitudes on the part of individual States, acquired and maintained a superiority over Africa; but I am not prepared to say that it rests on natural causes of a fixed and abiding

character.

We are led into error by contemplating things too much in the gross. There are tribes in Africa which have made no contemptible progress in various branches of human improvement. On the other hand, if we look closely at the condition of the mass of the population in Europe, from Lisbon to Archangel, from the Hebrides to the Black sea; if we turn from the few who possess wealth or com-petence, education, and that lordship over Nature and all her forces which belongs to instructed mind; if we turn from these to the benighted, destitute, oppressed, superstitious, abject millions, whose lives are passed hopeless toils of the field, the factory, the mine; nheritance, from generation to generation, from father all the eligible careers of the intuit control states and argument why he should not resort to the region any argument why he should not resort to the region where his fathers were born—to a climate more congenial difficulty in Africa has been twofold: first, that the other titution of the joys and lights of life, and thus estimate the full extent of the practical barbarism of the nominary of the close, who had obtained the start in the the full extent of the practical barbarism of the nominary of the close, will give us a national dividuals or necessary the third; and, so far as the President is controlled the full extent of the practical barbarism of the nominary of the close who had obtained the start in the dividuals or necessary the third; and, so far as the President is controlled to the controlled the controlled to the controlled the controlled the controlled to the controlled the contr whose rare festivity is brutal intemperance; if we could sure, endorse the views and sentiments of his illustrious

European race.

If it be essentially superior, why did it remain so long unimproved? The Africans you say have persevered in their original barbarism for five thousand years. Well, the Anglo-Saxon race did the same thing for nearly four thousand years, and in the great chronology of Provi-dence a thousand years are but as one day. A little more than ten centuries ago, and our Saxon ancestors were not more civilized than some of the African tribes of the present day. They were a savage warlike people—pirates by sea, bandits on shore—enslaved by the darkest superstitions, worshipping divinities as dark and cruel as themselves. The slave-trade was carried on in Great Britain. Eight hundred years ago the natives of that island were bought and sold for the South and East of Europe as But it pleased Divine Providence to pour the light of Christianity upon this midnight darkness; by degrees civilization, law, liberty, letters, arts, came in; and at the end of eight centuries we talk of the essential inborn superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, and look down with disdain on those portions of the human family who have disdain on those portions of the human family who have lagged a little behind us in the march of civilization.

Sir, at the present day Africa is not the abode of utter barbarism. Here again we do not discriminate; we judge in the gross. Some of her tribes are indeed hopelessly broken down by internal wars and the foreign slave trade; and the situation of the whole continent is exceedingly adverse to any progress in culture. But they are not sa-vages. The mass of the population live by agriculture. There is some traffic between the coast and the interior. There is a rude architecture; gold dust is collected; iron s smelted; weapons and utensils of husbandry and house. hold use are wrought; cloth is manufactured and dyed; palm oil is expressed; schools are taught. Among the Mahomedan tribes the Koran is read. I have seen a native African in this city who had passed forty years of his life as a slave in the field, who, at the age of seventy, wrote the Arabic character with the elegance of a scribe; and Mungo Park tells us that lawsuits are argued with as much ability, fluency, and at as much length in the interior of Africa as at Edinburgh. I certainly am aware that the condition of the most advanced tribes of Central Africa is wretched, mainly in consequence of the slave trade, which exists among them in the most deplorable form. The only wonder is, that with this cancer eating into their vitals from age to age, any degree of civilization can exist. But I think it may be said, without exaggeration, that degraded as are the ninety millions of Africa, ninety millions exist in Europe, to which each country contributes her quota, not much less degraded. The difference is, and certainly an all-important difference, that in Europe inter-mingle I with these ninety millions are fifteen or twenty millions possessed of all degrees of culture up to the very highest; while in Africa there is not an individual who, according to our standard, has attained a high degree of intellectual cultivation; but if obvious causes for this can be shown, it is unphilosophical to infer from it an innate essential incanacity.

essential incapacity.

But all doubts of the capacity of the African race for self-government, and of their improvability under favora-ble circumstances, seem to me to be removed by what we witness at the present day, both in our own country and on the coast of that continent. Notwithstanding the disadvantages of their condition in this country, specimens of intellectual ability—the talent of writing and speaking; capacity for business, for the ingenious and mechanical arts—for accounts, for the ordinary branches of academical and professional learning—have been exhibited by our colored brethren which would do no discredit to Anglo-Saxons. Paul Cuffee, well recollected in New England, was a person of great energy. He navigated his own ship, manned by men of his own color. His father was an African slave, his mother an Indian of the Elizabeth islands, in Massachusetts. I have already alluded to the extraordinary attainments of Abderahman. A man of better manners or more respectable appearance I never saw. The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, saw. The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has attained a celebrity scarcely inferior to that of his white brother, known by the same designation. I frequently attended the examinations at a school in Cambridge at which Beverley Williams was a pupil. Two youths from Georgia and a son of my own were among his fellow-pupils. Beverley was a born slave in Mississippi, and apparently of pure African blood; he was one of the best scholars—perhaps the best Latin scholar—in his class.

cruisers, the greater the cruelty incident to its practice, by crowding the clave ships with a greater number of victims.

Such being the case, many of those in England who had taken the greatest interest in the suppression of the traffic have seriously proposed to abandon the system of blockades and cruisers, and resort to other expedients; and of these anguestionably none can be compared for a fellow of the control of th

It would, I think, be unjust to urge as a proof of the intellectual inferiority of the civilized men of color in this country that they have not made greater intellectual progress. It appears to me that they have done quite as much as could be expected, under the depressing circumstances in which they have been placed. What branch of the in which they have been placed. What branch of the argue. Sir, I read last year in the newspapers an anecomplete in the work, but cannot kill its vitality. That our colored brethren equally with ourselves are susceptible of the moral sentiments, it would be an affront to your discernment to argue. Sir, I read last year in the newspapers an anecomplete in the work, but cannot kill its vitality. That our colored brethren equally with ourselves are susceptible of the moral sentiments, it would be an affront to your discernment to argue. Sir, I read last year in the newspapers an anecomplete in the work, but cannot kill its vitality. That our colored brethren equally with ourselves are susceptible of the moral sentiments, it would be an affront to your discernment to argue. Sir, I read last year in the newspapers an anecomplete in the work, but cannot kill its vitality. That our colored brethren equally with ourselves are susceptible of the moral sentiments. three centuries, would not be subject to the same reproach? Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, urges the intellectual inferiority of the African race as existing in the United States. He might have been led to doubt the justice of his conclusions, by reflecting that, in the very same work, he thinks it necessary to vindicate the race to which we ourselves belong from a charge of deof the master at length failed. What, in that distant region, under a constitution forbidding slavery, and in that new and scarcely organized society, what was the conduct of the slave? Priest and Levite, as the master lay ill of a typhus fever, came and looked on him and passed by an the other side. But the faithful servant tended, watched, protected his stricken master; by day and by night his companion, nurse, and friend. At length the master died. What then was the conduct of the slave as he stood in those lonely wastes by the remains of him whom living he had served, and who was now struck down by the great Emancipator? He due his decent grave in the living he had served, and who was now struck down by the great Emancipator? He dug his decent grave in the golden sands; gathered up the fruits of their joint labors; those he considered the sacred property of his master's family; toiled a few more weeks under the burning sun of a California summer, to accumulate the means of paying his passage to the States, and, that object accomplished, returned to the family of his master in Louisiana. I cannot vouch for the truth of the story. The Italians have a saying of an anecdote of this kind, that "if not true, it is well invented." This, sir, is too good to be invented; I believe, I know it must be true. And such a fact proves more for the possession by the African race of the moral sentiments by which the land of their fathers is to be civilized than volumes of argument. Sir, that master and that slave ought to live in marble and brass. If a person so humble as myself, so soon to pass away degree of culture. Such was the case of the ancient If a person so hunble as myself, so soon to pass away Egyptians, a dark colored race, though not of what we and be forgotten, dare promise it, I would say their memory shall never perish.

Fortunati ambo! si quid mea carmina possint, Nulla dies unquam memori vos eximet zevo.

There is a moral wealth in that incident beyond the treasures of California. If all the gold she has hitherto yielded to the indomitable industry of the adventurer, and all that she yet locks from the cupidity of man in the virgin chambers of her snow-clad sierras, were all molten into one vast ingot, it would not buy the moral worth of

Sir, I leave you to make the application. I have told you, you knew it well before, how Africa is to be civilized, and who are to do the work; and what remains but that we, that every friend of humanity, should bid God speed to the undertaking.

[Mr. Evenerr was frequently interrupted by applause throughout the delivery of this address.]

TO THE EDITORS.

ARLINGTON HOUSE, JANUARY 24, 1853.

Messrs. Gales & SEATON-MY DEAR SIRS: I enclose you a venerable Letter, written to me by Mr. JEFFERSON, third President of the United States, when the subject of a bridge across the Potomac, at the seat of the National Government, was first agitated-just fifty years ago.

The views and sentiments contained in this letter are worthy of a great functionary of the olden time. Our thirteenth President, the excellent FILLMORE, will, I am nally civilized world, we should be inclined, perhaps, to dividuals or peculiar localities, will give us a national doubt the essential superiority of the present improved bridge, combining all the advantages which circumstances bridge, combining all the advantages which circumstances will admit of, and conducive to the general interest and convenience of the country at large.

Mr. JEFFERSON's reconnoissance of a site for the bridge from the present Observatory was owing to a favorite project "long time ago" of throwing a bridge from the present ship-yard of Easby to the shore of the Arlington estate.

As an autograph letter from the author of the Declaration of Independence should possess some interest in the estimation of men of modern times, I pray you to show this relic of the past to Gen. SHIKLDS, Mr. MASON, and any others who may be pleased to see it, and at your leisure enclose it to me via Alexandria.

In the words of JEFFERSON, the finest writer of the age in which he flourished, I pray you "accept my salutations and respect," and believe me faithfully yours, GEORGE W. P. CUSTIS.

From the venerable Autograph Letter of President JEFFERSON, the original of which we shall have pleasure in submitting to the inspection of the Senators named by Mr. Custis, we present the following copy of it:

WASHINGTON, FEBRUARY 23, 1804. SIR: On the receipt of your letter I rode to the Hamburg Hill, [now the Observatory,] from whence you suppose a bridge may be advantageously thrown across the river. Comparing this with the other positions, below and above, which have been proposed, I observe that in proportion as they lengthen the road, they shorten the bridge. It will rest with the Legislature to decide at which place or places they will authorize the establishment of a bridge: The inhabitants of Georgetown think their interests will be much injured by any bridge below their port. In this clashing of interests between different points of the territory, to all of which I sin-cerely wish prosperity, I hold myself aloof from meddling, no law calling on me to do otherwise. Should it be made my duty to take any part in it, I shall certainly place every local interest out of view, and regard the general interest only.

Accept my salutations and respect.
TH: JEFFERSON. GEORGE W. P. Custis, Esq.

DREADFUL SHIPWRECK-Eighty-six Lives Lost.-The large English ship Successor, lying in Madras Roads, having on board 224 persons and a large number of horses, foundered at her anchors, in sight of hundreds of people, on the 9th of October last. The captain and second officer had gone on shore, leaving the ship in harge of the mate. A squall arose, and the mate at the save the ship, she was totally lost, drowning eighty-six men and all the horses.

GAS LIGHT AT STAUNTON, Va .- The Lunatic Asylum at Staunton (Va.) was lit up with gas, for the first time, on the 7th instant, which so delighted the citizens that in twenty-four hours they subscribed over \$15,000 to light the whole town with gas.

FATAL BOYS' PLAY.—A little boy, seven or eight years old, died suddenly at New York on Wednesday night. He was a school boy, and in playing with his larger fellows, in the recess, was covered with snow and beaten badly with snow balls. He was damp with snow and ill from injuries when he went into school, and not being allowed ta go home until the usual time, died soon after he set there. A coverer's jury returned that his death he got there. A coroner's jury returned that his death was caused by acute bronchitis.

UPS AND DOWNS OF MERCANTILE LIFE. -The Pittsburgh Post mentions the fact that a man in that city is going from store to store soliciting alms who twenty-five years These are indications of intellectual ability afforded under discouraging circumstances at home. On the coast of Africa, as it appears to me, the success of Liberia, the